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The Man The World Watches

How Does Mussolini's Mind Work? An Effort To Penetrate Behind the Dictator's Mask

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

ROME

Two days before the harassed representatives of a befuddled Europe met recently in an unavailing effort to put a brake on him, Benito Mussolini made a pious and peaceful pilgrimage to a primitive old farmhouse in a hill village near his birthplace. He was accompanied by his wife, the unobtrusive Donna Rachele—Italy's forgotten woman—and the two sons, Bruno and Vittorio, who as volunteers are joining the flying corps in East Africa. The object of the family pilgrimage was to unveil a tablet, on the wall of the house where the Duce's father was born, in memory of "the peasant generations of the Mussolinis" who had lived and worked on the farm for 300 years.

Romagna, Mussolini's native province, is traditionally the most contentious in Italy. In pre-Fascist days it was noted for its Socialist peasantry, a rude and rebellious people of whom not the least radical was the obstreperous village blacksmith who was Benito's father. If there was something ironic in the memorial to a parent whose voice would not be tolerated in the Italy his son has created, there was true political instinct, too, in this alignment of Mussolini, the militant expansionist, with the peasant generations who suffer most for lack of space and outlets on their poor and overcrowded farms.

In the Romagna, against that long background of fierce and tenacious plowmen, many with the same strut, the same thrust of chin, it is easier to understand Mussolini than it is in London or New York. It is easier to understand him in Rome. He is a curious combination of Caesar and peasant, neither of whom, when you come to think of it, is very far from the primeval sources of power.

Mussolini is not far from the soil; seen in the fields, he is hardly to be distinguished from any other strong Romagnole farmer. During this Summer when he has had all Europe by the ears he has spent more time than usual in the country, as if deliberately placing himself in his peasant setting. He went to his farm before the Stresa conference; he was there when the League Council met in May and in July; he has a habit of retiring to his native provin-

ince on the eve of important decisions. He says himself, and the country people echo him, that he goes back to the soil when he wants to think.

* * *

Now it has come to pass that we have reached a point, or he has reached a point, where what this one man thinks is of the utmost concern to the world. Thirty years ago the son of the peasant Mussolini was a discontented country school teacher "on the run" for his radical opinions. Fifteen years ago he was a fiery editor little known in his own country, hardly heard of outside. Today the obscure journalist in what was then classed as a second-rate nation is a decisive factor in the international scale. His mental processes are eventful; they disturb the most powerful governments of Europe and are of tremendous consequence in the life of two continents.

It is strange to observe how other problems have receded into the background before Mussolini's threat of war. German rearmament, the Eastern pact, the Nazi drive on Memel and Danzig, Austrian independence—all these questions are of secondary interest. You can travel from capital to capital and hear next to nothing about the danger of European conflict or the shattered plans for collective peace. In a world sick to death of sensations and alarms, tired of headliness, tired of plans, tired of revolutions, nothing registers, nothing seems real, until it is imminent. The only new event people can bear to face is the unavoidable event immediately in prospect. If Mussolini has aspired to hold the almost undivided attention of Europe, his ambition is fulfilled. For the moment he has become the world problem, the question mark overshadowing all other questions.

This is the historic but unremembered effect of dictatorship: the dictator grows more potent than his country. When concentrated in a single will, national energy is actually more restless and more formidable than when it is frittered away in the diversions and divisions of democracy. To this extent democratic government is the surest safeguard against aggressive war. The better the dictator—and as a dictator Mussolini shows genius not only in administration but in allowing no power to escape out of his own hands—the more unchecked and threatening to other na-

tions is this personified national force.

* * *

The Italian dictator has reached the crisis of his astonishing career. Let no one suppose that on the chance of acquiring the first slice of an empire he does not realize that he is staking his own fate, the future of his country, the Wilsonian dream of a League of Nations. The enormous risks he takes are for something more than overlordship at Addis Ababa. The British did not see at first, did not see until they felt, that a great white colonization on the uplands of Africa must lead at last to the domination by those colonists of the whole black empire.

Mussolini is putting dictatorship itself to the supreme test. Contemporary dictators in Russia, in Germany, in Turkey, have gone further than any of their prototypes in changing and standardizing life and thought within their domains, but Mussolini is the first ruler since Napoleon by his own will, without external provocation or internal propulsion, to lead his people into a campaign of conquest. Whatever rôle the Duce plays in his own country, instrument of destiny or condottiere, outside he is significant as the exemplar of the dictatorship principle as it affects world affairs. This is an aspect of one-man government which multiple-minded governments are just beginning to consider.

There would be more point in underlining all this if Mussolini did not do it for himself with superb exaggeration. He is the journalist come to power, and the tabloid headliner has nothing to teach him except that even the subway reader gets bored by daily repetitions of the same headline. Hitler is the agitator, perhaps the most successful of all agitators crowned by the vote of his audiences. Kemal Ataturk is the soldier who fought his way to supreme command of a nation. Stalin is the type of dictator most familiar to democracies, the political boss who organizes his own machine and outwits or outlaws his rivals. Mussolini is agitator, ex-combatant, party boss, but mostly he is the phrase-maker who wrote his way to power. He did not make many speeches before he took over the government. His party was comparatively small. He rose to the top on the headlines of his own newspaper; he maintains his eminence by dictating the headlines of every newspaper in Italy.

* * *

What is behind the phrases? In recent months, particularly in recent weeks, it has become terribly clear that Premier Mussolini means the thunderous words he has been uttering for the last decade. These broadsides are not bombast or bluff, as many people thought. If his militant

utterances were ever rhetorical, now they have the weight of facts. And as the threatening words turn into threatening facts the world is forced to take a new look at the man who boasts that Italy means to take what she wants by her own force, "with Geneva, without Geneva, or against Geneva." How does he get that way? people wonder. What forces and motives move him? Is he intoxicated by power? Living amid the echoes of his own voice, has he conjured up an Italy that does not exist? What is the true measure of this man Mussolini?

These are questions very difficult to answer. Though the Italian dictator is more accessible to foreigners than most European statesmen, nobody really knows him or how his mind works. He has been interviewed hundreds of times. His face and figure are as well known to movie audiences the world over as those of any other actor on the screen. He has expressed himself on nearly every subject under the sun. He has been described in all languages and he has written copiously

himself and about himself. For all that, his personality eludes analysis. The only man in public life as easy to talk to as Mussolini is President Roosevelt, and behind the openness and charm of both lies something always fluid and unfathomable.

The best one can do, in an effort to outline the man hidden by the headlines, is to string together a few purely personal impressions, gathered over a term of years. By chance it happened that I heard Mussolini's first speech in the Chamber of Deputies, back in the Summer of 1921. It was a very green and inexperienced observer who sat through the turbulent session in which the Fascists were first represented, one small party out of twenty-six. The name Mussolini meant nothing to me, but the effect of his measured words in reducing to utter silence a noisy mob which would listen to no one else was so impressive that I drew a laugh from a seasoned journalist by asserting, on no other evidence, that Italy was hearing its master's voice.

(To be continued)

The New York Times Magazine

CRISIS OVER ETHIOPIA MANY YEARS ★ ★ BREWING ★ ★

By P. W. WILSON

The crisis which now confronts the world had its origin in one of those frontier incidents which are frequent in the less developed regions of Asia as well as Africa. On Dec. 5, 1934, there was a fight at Ualual, on the border between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland, between Italian troops occupying that place and the Ethiopian escort of an Anglo-Ethiopian boundary commission. Thirty Somali soldiers in the service of Italy were killed and feelings were aroused. With the dispute unsettled, five Italian Somali soldiers were killed on Jan. 29, 1935, at Afdub, near Ualual.

From the first it was clear that Italy took a serious view of the affair. On Feb. 10 she ordered the "precautionary" mobilization of two regular army divisions.

It has thus been amid cumulative preparations for war that efforts have been made to keep the peace. The complicated story covers a period of half a century.

In 1889 Italy concluded with Ethiopia the Treaty of Ucciali. The treaty was worded one way in Italian and another way in Amharic, the language of Ethiopia. The Italian version implied a protectorate over the country.

Battle of Adowa

In March, 1896, an Italy army of 14,600 men endeavored to enforce this protectorate but was completely defeated by 100,000 Ethiopians at the battle of Adowa. A reason for Italy's present attitude in a desire to wipe out a humiliating memory.

The Treaty of Addis Ababa, concluded after the war of 1896, annulled the Treaty of Ucciali and Italy thereby acknowledged the independence of Ethiopia.

The entire drama is overshadowed by prolonged and persistent struggle. On the one hand, there are European powers anxious to obtain economic advantages in Ethiopia. On the other hand, the Ethiopian Government asserts its independence.

After years of such intrigue the Emperor Menelik agreed in 1904 that Ethiopia's only railway should be built by France from French Somaliland to Addis Ababa. In 1906 Italy, France and Britain entered into a tripartite agreement.

The three powers mutually entered into two pledges: First, they promised to "make every effort to preserve the integrity of Ethiopia." Secondly, they would "concert together" if any situation arose that required such consultation. These guarantees appear to reflect on Italy's recent proceedings.

The tripartite agreement of 1906 also recognized the special interests in Ethiopia of Italy, Britain and France.

On this treaty there have arisen two definite questions: Has it been superseded by the covenant of the League of Nations? Was the treaty ever voided? Ethiopia has not at any time accepted the treaty. "Let it be understood," said the Emperor Menelik, "that this arrangement in no way limits our sovereign rights," and with regard to all European undertakings that has been consistently the Ethiopian attitude.

Ethiopia in the League

On Sept. 28, 1923, Ethiopia was admitted to the League of Nations by the unanimous vote of forty-five nations. Italy strongly supported Ethiopia's application.

Into the strange story there now enters the Labor government over which Ramsay MacDonald presided, not only as Prime Minister but as Foreign Secretary. In 1924 this government approached Ethiopia with a view to the use of Lake Tana.

The Conservative government of Stanley Baldwin, following this lead, concluded in December, 1925, an agreement with Italy at the expense of Ethiopia—and without consulting France.

By this agreement Britain was to be allowed to build a barrage across Lake

Tana and a motor road from the Sudan to the lake. Italy was to be permitted, on her side, to construct a railway through Addis Ababa which would connect Eritrea with Italian Somaliland.

Ethiopia was now a member of the League. On June 15, 1926, she addressed identical notes to Italy and Britain, protesting against encroachments on her sovereignty. To Britain she added the words:

"We should never have suspected that the British Government would come to an agreement with another government regarding our lake."

Britain and Italy hastily explained away their undertakings. In the House of Commons on Aug. 8, 1926, Sir Austen Chamberlain, as Foreign Secretary, desired to "emphasize that the Anglo-Italian notes do not reserve any part of Abyssinia to Italian economic influence." Once more, Ethiopia held her own.

Treaty of 1928

In August, 1928, Ethiopia concluded a treaty with Italy. By Article II each of the countries entered into a pledge not to take any action detrimental to the independence of the other, which pledge is still in force.

By Article V the two countries undertook to submit disputes arising between them to "a procedure of conciliation and arbitration." During the later crisis this clause has been frequently quoted.

Into this background of intrigue and guarantee, the dispute between Italy and Ethiopia over Ualual—originating in December, 1934—was powerfully injected.

The policy pursued by Ethiopia was clear. She was no party, as we have seen, to any agreement of the powers that might have limited her sovereignty. She could stand four-square on her rights as a member State of the League of Nations. Acting also on her treaty of 1928 with Italy, she demanded arbitration.

Italy-French Agreement

Britain urged Ethiopia to enter into separate negotiations with Italy, and the attitude of France was unsympathetic. On Jan. 7, 1935—just before Italy inaugurated her expeditionary force—France came to an agreement with Italy, and it was hinted that France had conceded to Italy privately a free hand. On June 19 Premier Laval formally denied that there was truth in this suggestion.

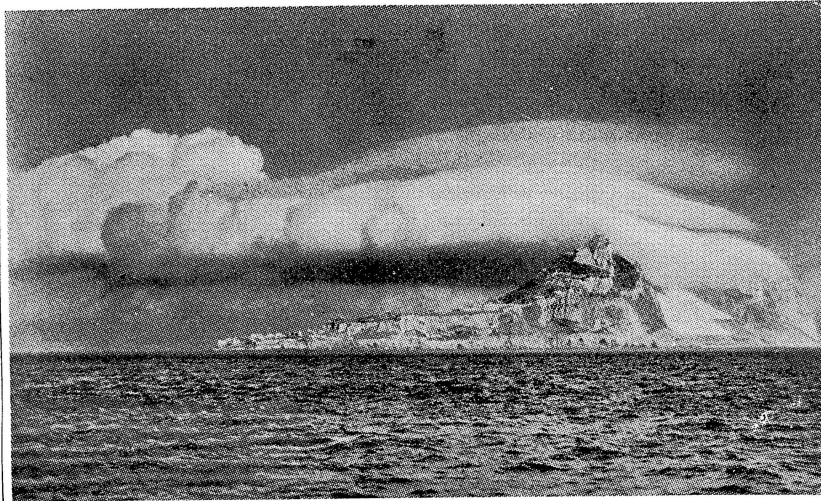
In April France, Britain and Italy met at the Stresa Conference. Ethiopia was in the background. The object was an alignment against Germany, especially over Austria. France was ready to regard hostilities in Ethiopia as a colonial war of no paramount importance.

The proceedings of the League were thus dilatory and amounted to no more than the appointment of a committee of four later increased to five—to arbitrate on the merits of the Ualual incidents.

The proceedings of this committee were obstructed by Italy, but in August there was issued a report exonerating both sides from blame. This report was ill-received in Rome. It eliminated the Ualual incident even as a pretext for Italian reprisals.

During June it was the policy of Britain

THE WESTERN GATE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN: GIBRALTER CLOUDS



The photograph shows a curious but somewhat similar cloud formation with which those familiar with Gibraltar will probably be well acquainted. The photograph was taken at 7.30 on an autumn morning, while the upper part of the Rock was a shrouded in cloud formation popularly called the "Levant." This formation has been known to extend a distance of three miles, and to remain in place for as much as twelve days, or until the wind has changed. It is caused by the prevailing damp easterly winds impinging on the face of the Rock and becoming transformed into dense masses of heavy white clouds travelling with the wind and terminating in numerous eddies and vortices. It is said that were it not for the periodical cloud storms the whole formation of the Rock would crumble and finally collapse through lack of moisture. On the other hand, the "Levant" has a most unhealthy effect on the population of Gibraltar, English and Spanish alike. To it are attributed all kinds of minor ills, and some people are so affected that they have to leave. It is, nevertheless, a fine spectacle to see Gibraltar from seaward, with this phenomenon standing out prominently on a perfect Mediterranean day of blue sky.—*The Illustrated London News*

and France to arrive at a settlement with Italy outside the League and, if necessary, at a sacrifice of Ethiopian sovereignty. Mr. Eden, British Secretary for League Affairs, visited Rome and discussed matters with Premier Mussolini.

The Ethiopian attitude toward these negotiations was summed up in a phrase of her spokesman at Geneva. "You offer us," he said, "a choice between suicide and assassination."

Mr. Eden suggested that Ethiopia make territorial concessions to Italy in exchange for an access to the sea, and he included British territory in his offer—which, however, was refused—and it was after this conversation that there began to be suggestions of Italian aims which go beyond Ethiopia. Mr. Eden was obviously discouraged.

Paris Conference

A conference of France, Italy and Britain—Ethiopia still excluded—was held at Paris and further offers were made to Italy—again at the expense of Ethiopia—on the lines of the abortive treaty of 1928. The country was to be divided into spheres of influence.

An abrupt message from Mussolini brought this conference to an end, and on Aug. 22 Britain held an emergency Cabinet meeting. Ramsay MacDonald compared the situation with August, 1914. An element in the situation was stated to be British naval weakness in the Mediterranean.

The climax came at the meeting of the League early in September. Italy declared that "sanctions mean war," but she attended the Council with the avowed desire that Ethiopia be expelled from membership.

The case against Ethiopia, based on a humanitarian appeal, was presented in an immense series of documents.

The British Foreign Secretary attended the League and declared that Britain would fulfill to the utmost her obligations under the covenant. His pronouncement was welcomed by the small powers and by Russia.

In due course Premier Laval of France spoke on similar lines.

Then the League, through its special committee of five, prepared a proposal for assisting Ethiopia by advisers who would contribute to the progress of the country.

The New York Times, Sept. 22, 1935

Not many copies are left in stock!

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE AND THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION

By Pío Duran

Associate Professor of Law, University of the Philippines.

Cloth, pp. 303 Price ¥4.50 712 sen

The Air Armaments Race AS SEEN THROUGH FRENCH EYES

3

by HENRI BOUCHÉ

(Continued from Oct. Number)

II.—The Expansion and Renewal of Air Forces

During the last year exceptional resources were placed at the disposal of the Air Forces of the four great Powers of Western Europe and that of the United States. Experience has proved, however, that even when the greater part of these credits was devoted to rapid mass-production building, it was very difficult to bring about in a few months any alteration in the rate of the industry's production. Such facts are calculated to reassure public opinion.

Even more reassuring (provided we are prepared to take a lesson from it) is the time which elapses before the offensive value of an Air Force can attain disquieting proportions. And if this is true of a country in which it is merely a question of "renewing" a militant Air Force which is second to none in Europe, it is even truer of Germany, where the problem is one of transition from a "convertible civil air fleet" to a military Air Force capable of taking the offensive. In fact, if, in the next two years, the new German Air Force is to have any chance of gaining the ascendancy over even one of the big, already established military Air Forces, the latter will have to rest complacent!

Actually, this is what France, Great Britain, Italy, and Soviet Russia are doing. It is as though these Powers wish to give time to Germany in order to gain time themselves. Now, it is obvious that the Reich, as a great technical and industrial Power, will succeed in overcoming her handicap if she is only given sufficient time in which to do so. And when that occurs, what will Europe have gained by saving a few additional milliards, except the chance of a more burdensome, less probable, agreement as to limitation, followed by a reduction of air armaments.

The "Expansion" of the British Royal Air Force

We have seen that the British Ministers regard the present efficiency of the Reich's Air Force as very much below that of their own. Well, his Majesty's Government has now decided to increase, in two years, the number of first-line aircraft at the disposal of the Royal Air Force for home defence from 580 to 1500.

The following is the official British explanation of this apparent contradiction. On May 22 last, in the House of Lords, Lord Londonderry, the Minister for Air, declared: "It has been suggested that, in saying in November that the German strength was half our own at that date, his Majesty's Government were wholly wide of the mark. We have no evidence from any reliable source that at that date Germany possessed even half-a-dozen squadrons completely formed."

Lord Londonderry then explained that, if Germany claimed to have 800 or 850 first-

line aircraft, there must be a "considerable difference" between what she understands by "first-line" and what Great Britain understands by it. He added immediately, however, that he did not doubt Germany's capacity to organise, and that in no long period, an Air Force to which the term "first line" would apply with all the implications of the British interpretation. He went on: "At the present time all the information we possess goes to show that the German Air Force does not include nearly as large a total number of military aircraft as our own."

How, then, does Lord Londonderry propose to justify the programme of "expansion" submitted? By the fact that the rulers of Germany, whatever the precise air strength of their country at present, have clearly stated her ultimate objective: *parity with the French Air Forces available for home defence.*

Thus, it is a German claim for equality with France which is forcing Great Britain to treble her home Air Force in order to bring its strength, in 1937, into line with that which we ourselves have reached and with that at which Germany is aiming!

On the same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Baldwin also referred to the ultimate objective avowed by Germany, which, he repeated, is parity with France, and said: "We are basing our estimation on that scale"—that is to say, the French air strength.

At that time, he estimated the French air strength at 1500 aircraft, after deducting the aircraft stationed in the Far East; that is to say, too far away to assist the home country. Finally, he gave it to be understood that the British policy consists in "seeing that Great Britain shall be by no way behindhand as compared with any other country."

This is the explanation which the British Government gave for its "plan of expansion": it is not entirely satisfactory.

It was even less so when, on March 19 last, in order to justify to the House of Commons the extremely modest figure of the supplementary credits asked for at that time for the Royal Air Force, the Under-Secretary of State for Air, Sir Philip Sassoon, stated: "We have always built soundly and we intend to continue. . . . It would be the height of folly to set up a mere façade of air strength." In fact, at that time, the programme of expansion drawn up related to 41 squadrons (fewer than 500 aircraft) to be built in five years.

Suddenly, this wise programme was replaced by a "foolish" programme—if we accept the ideas of Sir Philip Sassoon—which aims at nothing less than to treble in two years the home military Air Force. How can this apparent folly, which is certainly very deliberate, be explained? We suggest two or three ways.

Internal policy in the first place. As it is a question of a parliamentary majority which foresees a General Election in the fairly near future, we are entitled to think that the British Government contemplates earning the right to public gratitude. Moreover, in Great Britain there are particular circumstances to consider: there is a *Budget surplus* to be absorbed. Is there any better way in which to employ this surplus than by spending it in the country upon a task which

is directly connected with the security and prestige of the country?

In our opinion, moreover—and here we enter the domain of foreign policy—there is a very direct connection, in the eyes of the British leaders, between the safety of Britain and the new programme of expansion of the Royal Air Force: it binds the air policy of Great Britain with its traditional policy, which is not to tolerate too strong a Power or too strong a group of Powers on the Continent of Europe.

Well, what is it the British leaders see? The rebirth of a German military Air Force? The present German force Great Britain knows to be still relatively small: she is taking the necessary precautions against its growth.

But do not his Majesty's Ministers wish to ward off other dangers (however remote or unlikely) with the same parry? The British leaders have watched the Franco-Italian conversations; the Franco-Russian

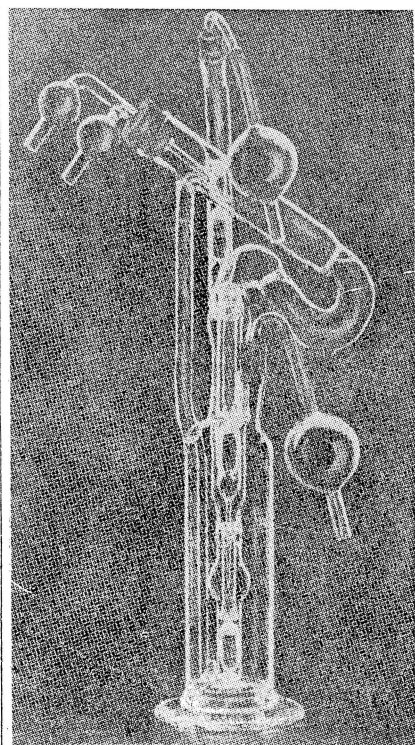
Pact; the aerial relations between Italy and Russia; the recent visit to Moscow of the Chief of the Czechoslovakian Air Force; and the announcement of the opening of a regular air service between Moscow and Prague, *via* Kieff and Rumania. In a word, Great Britain envisages the formation—unlikely, perhaps, but that does not matter—of an "aerial mass" out of proportion to her own strength.

Now, Great Britain is apprehensive of adventures in Europe, but she is even more apprehensive of any threat other line of Imperial communications, staked out *via* Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, across the Mediterranean which the Franco-Italian Air Forces could control absolutely. And she is experiencing that new fear which, although vague, is profound and radically new to the British heart—the feeling of lost insularity. For that reason, Great Britain is entering the "Air Armanets Race."

The Illustrated London News

Lindbergh Invents Artificial 'Heart,' Device to Keep Organs Alive Outside Body

The complete details of the robot heart devised by Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, by which organs of humans and animals can be kept alive indefinitely, were given by him for the first time August 31 last.



The description, published in *The Journal of Experimental Medicine*, official publication of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, painstakingly gave the manner of construction and operation of the instrument, which has been hailed as of immeasurable value to medical research.

The heart, technically called a perfusion pump, was developed at the Rockefeller In-

stitute, where Colonel Lindbergh worked with Dr. Alexis Carrel. To the first report on this device, which appeared in the magazine *Science* in June, the signatures of both Dr. Carrel and Colonel Lindbergh were appended, but yesterday's account was signed simply "C. A. Lindbergh."

The achievement he summarized as follows:

"An apparatus has been developed which maintains, under controllable conditions, a pulsating circulation of sterile fluid through organs for a length of time limited only by the changes in the organs and in the perfusion fluid."

Made Entirely of Glass

The pump, made entirely of glass in which the only moving parts are the valves and the gas and fluid which sustain life in the organ under observation, is essentially a simple mechanism. At the same time it is an achievement for which medical scientists have been working for years. Fluids which will serve as artificial blood and sustain life in organs outside the body have been known for years. The problem has been to construct an apparatus which would keep the fluid in motion and could, at the same time, be set up and handled without the possibility of infection.

The pump itself consists of three glass chambers, placed one above the other vertically. In the top chamber is placed the organ—an aseptic technique to guard against infection being used in this operation—and the artery of the organ is connected to a glass tube leading down into the lowest chamber.

The bottom chamber is a reservoir. Between it and the section containing the organ is another chamber called the "equalizer."

The pulsating pressure which causes the fluid, or artificial blood, stained red to permit more accurate observation of the reactions in the organ, is a gas, a mixture of oxygen and nitrogen, which, like the fluid, is also necessary to the sustenance of life. This gas is piped into the reservoir and

equalizer, passing on its way through sterilizing bulbs stuffed with non-absorbent cotton.

The gas comes from a pressure tank outside the incubator, in which the pump is placed to maintain an equal temperature.

It flows through a saturation tube into the top of an oil cylinder. Into the same glass piece where the oil is made to serve as a piston, compressed air comes from another source outside the incubator. It flows through a rotary valve which, with each half turn, opens alternately an intake and an exhaust aperture.

The manner of this operation characteristically explains the mechanical ingenuity of the entire instrument.

One-Piece Oil Cylinder

The oil cylinder, or flask, as Colonel Lindbergh calls it, is of pyrex glass made in one piece. Like all the other glass in the pump, it was blown to order by O. Hopf of the Rockefeller Institute. It has a round, bulbous base, into which projects a cylinder with openings at the top. The base is filled with liquid petrolatum.

When the rotating valve opens the air duct, permitting air to flow into the round base of the flask, it creates a pressure which forces the oil into the inside cylinder. Inside of this cylinder is the gas. The pressure caused by the reaction of the oil to the air forces the gas out of the top of the cylinder.

From there it flows through a series of filters, traps and valves to insure it against carrying any of the oil into the equalizing and reservoir sections of the pump, which the gas next enters.

Each complete turn of the rotary valve creates the two cycles of pulsation. Just as the human pulse varies, so can the speed of the artificial pulsations be varied by controlling the speed of the motor. This, too, is provided for through installation of a rheostat. Any count that is required can be attained.

Flow Controlled by Valve

After the gas has entered the reservoir chamber, at a pressure of about 120 millimeters, it naturally compresses the fluid contained there. This fluid, the artificial blood, seeks an escape. The connection between the reservoir and the next higher chamber, is controlled by a one way valve, and escape is cut off in that direction. The fluid thus is compelled to travel up the cannular, the little glass tube which leads from the bottom of the reservoir to the top of the organ chamber, and is connected directly with the artery of the organ to be sustained.

The regular beat created by the rotary valve and the oil flask causes the fluid to flow upward in regular spurts. It is this alternate flow and stoppage which makes possible the continuous operation of the pump.

At the instant of maximum pressure in the reservoir, the organ at the top of the apparatus is perfused with the mixture of artificial blood and the gas which performs the function of air in the human body. This perfusion drains off, the gas escapes through an outlet at the top of the chamber, and the fluid flows back into the equalizer chamber through the operation of a one-way valve.

It then drains through that chamber into

THERE IS ONE WAY OUT: *Saving—Not Spending—Will Bring Reemployment*

(Continued from Oct. Number)

By LEWIS W. DOUGLAS

The immediate demand for capital goods may not arise from any need for greater productive capacity in existing businesses. It will probably arise chiefly from the need to replace obsolete or inefficient equipment, and as a result of investments made by newly organized industries or businesses. Hence an overnight increase in the use of consumer goods to an all-time peak would probably not reemploy even 25 per cent of the workers now idle. Saving—not spending—is the only thing that can achieve the objective.

The reason for this is that capital goods—or durable goods, as they are sometimes called—are not bought by individuals. They are bought by industry and business. The purchase of homes by individuals represents the only important exception to this rule. But in this case it is important to note that the purchase of homes is usually financed by other people's savings in the form of money lent on mortgage security.

Capital goods comprise such products as steel, building materials, machinery, and equipment. And their very name, 'capital goods,' implies the method by which they are usually purchased.

Rarely does a corporation modernize a plant or replace obsolete equipment and charge the cost against the company's earnings. Such purchases represent additions to capital assets and are properly chargeable to the corporation's capital account. In most cases, when substantial amounts of capital goods are purchased, new capital must be raised by the corporation. This is where the savings of the nation's individuals enter the picture in a most important way. For the small savings of millions of individuals, invested directly, or pooled in life insurance companies, savings banks, and other fiduciary institutions, supply the bulk of the funds that industry uses to finance its purchases of capital goods.

III

The reader here may well say that, despite repeated urging to spend more money, consumers on the whole have recently increased their savings. He may therefore ask why such increased savings have not

the reservoir. Another cycle of the maximum pulsating pressure in the reservoir follows the fluid spurts up the tube into the organ, drains off again and the operation starts all over, continuous at the speed dictated by the rotary valve.

In a short introduction to the mechanical analysis of the instrument, Colonel Lindbergh wrote in part.

"The apparatus described in this paper was designed to maintain a sterile, pulsating circulation of fluid through living organs. More than twenty-six experiments, with various organs, have been made up to the time of writing. Some of the results have already been reported."

The New York Times, Sept. 1, 1935

already promoted recovery in the capital-goods industries.

It is freely admitted that such savings as are now available have not as yet been used to the best advantage. The reasons for this will be discussed in later articles. The burden of the present argument, however, is that such savings should be encouraged, because, if properly used, they can be converted into a great force for needed reemployment.

Savings do not represent hoarded money, which brings the community no benefits. Savings are *spent*—not necessarily by the saver, but by others who borrow his surplus or in whose business the saver's funds are invested either by him directly or by institutions acting in his behalf. Thus, a nation's savings do not represent a sterile, static factor in its economy, but, rather, an exceedingly dynamic one. Moreover savings, when invested, are not usually spent for goods which are immediately consumed. They are spent for goods which in turn produce more goods and more wealth which enriches the community as a whole. The distinction is the same as between corn which is eaten and seed corn which produces the next year's crop.

Men's minds have confused savings with money. Savings are not money. They are merely *expressed* in terms of money. But actually they have their basis, not in money, but in goods and services. They are reserves out of present or past production of some goods or services, set aside for future enjoyment or for the purpose of producing more things in the future.

The conversion of such surpluses into money gives to savings a mobility that benefits the community as a whole, by permitting their efficient use through the medium of investment. The cattleman cannot save the hind quarter of a cow for some distant date of enjoyment. Nor can he invest the hind quarter of a cow. So he sells it, and the money he receives for it he sets aside as savings.

The same thing is true of the laborer who works in a locomotive factory, but who does not himself produce a finished article. He is not paid in locomotives for his services, for he has no use for locomotives. He therefore receives money obtained from the sale of the locomotives he has helped to produce; and a part of this money he sets aside as savings. Likewise the miner, for his services, is paid not in ore but in money, some of which goes into savings. But in all cases these savings arise from reserves created by the production of goods or services. They are merely converted into terms of money.

The savings of millions of such people, representing goods or services, but converted into money, can then be used to finance business and industry. If one million people save \$5.00 each, instead of spending it; the benefit of that \$5,000,000 of purchasing power is not lost, as the advocates of consumer spending would have us believe. That money is spent, just as surely as if those who saved had spent it themselves. But it goes in the form of loans or investments to

business and industry, which in turn purchase capital goods with the amounts so received. And, as has been previously explained, it is in the capital-goods industries that reemployment of workers is most needed.

A further benefit also accrues by reason of the fact that, after people's savings have thus created employment by financing the purchase of industrial construction and equipment, additional employment is automatically created in consumer's goods industries as well, through the subsequent need for the operation of such equipment and facilities.

Machines, in the long run, do not take men's jobs away. Machines create jobs. This is not merely a belief; it can be proved. The period from 1879 to 1929 was characterized by an amazing mechanization of industry in America; but whereas manufacturers were providing only 49,000 jobs per million of population in 1879, they were able to provide 73,000 jobs per million of population in 1929. These figures are taken from a study of the National Industrial Conference Board.

The automobile industry provides a classic illustration of this trend. Thirty years ago automobiles were made almost entirely by hand. To-day the production of automobiles is very highly mechanized. The greater value offered to the public as a result of this mechanization has put the automobile within reach of people of moderate income and has made possible a great increase in production. Consequently, although labor plays a relatively less important part in the production of a given car, we find many more people employed by the industry than was formerly the case. In addition, collateral employment has been created in industries supplying raw materials, in the oil industry, the rubber industry, and in road building. Such collateral employment in itself far more than offsets any loss of jobs that could conceivably result from mechanization.

IV

The greatest employing power in our society has always been this thing that we call savings. The availability of sufficient savings in the past has permitted the expansion of old industries and the creation of new ones, and over a long period of years has resulted in tremendous increases in the number of people gainfully employed. Under our competitive system, the result has been better goods at lower prices. This trend over a long period of years was responsible for the great improvement in the American standard of living.

We are told now by skeptical people that, although this method admittedly worked in the past, it cannot be effective in our present situation. Such people point out that our present productive facilities are already excessive as compared to our present ability to consume, and claim that therefore there will be no future demand for new capital investment. They also state that the development of new industries has always aided us in recovering from previous depressions, but that no such new industry, which might require great amounts of new capital investment, is now in sight.

Fortunately there are two serious fallacies in this dismal line of argument.

The despair over temporary overproduc-

tion and the apparent failure of any important new industry to appear on the horizon is not a new point of view. It has been expressed by various groups in almost every major depression during the last one hundred and thirty years. As far back as 1819, the famous Swiss economist, Sismondi, held almost the identical point of view. Grover Cleveland's Secretary of Labor expressed much the same thought. And as recently as 1922 a group of American economists advanced the same theory. Every time in the past that this point of view has been expressed, subsequent events have proved it to be wrong, for each depression has been conquered by the increased production of capital goods.

No living man can be certain that no new industry will arise to create a new demand for capital goods. To make such a prediction is to admit that man has reached the limit of his capacity to harness natural forces and natural resources for his own welfare. All experience teaches us that new industries will arise. The great strides made in recent years in the field of industrial research give greater assurance of this than perhaps ever before.

But, irrespective of such historical arguments and precedents, it is important to note that increased consumption of capital goods is not necessarily dependent upon the development of new industries or even the further expansion of old ones. The factor of *replacement* is a most important element in the demand for capital goods. The best estimates indicate that during normal periods approximately 40 per cent of capital investment have been made for replacements rather than for new facilities. Such replacements comprise the rebuilding of antiquated plants, and the replacement of obsolete machinery and almost every other conceivable form of relatively permanent or semipermanent goods.

V

The rapid rate of replacement in the industrial field is not widely appreciated. In few industries do machinery and equipment last as long as ten years without becoming obsolete. In many industries the life of equipment runs only four to five years.

Since 1930, there has been little capital invested in such replacements. This is natural during the early stages of a depression when prices are falling rapidly and business men are concentrating their attention upon the problems of protecting working capital, meeting debts, and avoiding bankruptcy. But as a result there has been built up a tremendous backlog of replacement demand. Even the editor of *Today* is reported to have said that there exists a potential demand for replacement alone in the amount of more than \$19,000,000,000.

If this pent-up demand can be released and made effective by the investment of individual savings, the greatest void in our present economy will be filled. Workmen by the million will be reemployed in the very industries in which present unemployment is the worst. It is to the accomplishment of this task that all recovery efforts of the Government should be directed.

The objective can never be accomplished by pleas to the public to buy just a little more butter, meat, or clothing. In the light of the facts, such efforts to spur consumer

Rogers Carried \$482,500

Los Angeles, Aug. 31 (AP) Oscar Lawler, attorney for the late Will Rogers, actor-humorist, said today Rogers was carrying insurance totaling \$482,500 at the time of his death in an Alaskan plane crash with Wiley Post, aviator.

Various conflicting reports have given much larger figures for the insurance.

One was that Rogers had a \$2,500,000 policy with Lloyd's of London. Lawler said he did not have figures at hand showing how much of Rogers's insurance was with Lloyd's, but "the \$482,500 includes all he had."

Lloyd's Los Angeles office said, however, that Rogers had a \$250,000 Lloyd's accident policy which he took out only a short time before he left on his Alaskan jaunt with Post.

Forthcoming Books

IN FAR JAPAN

by **Frank H. Hedges**

To be published in November

The author of this book has spent most of his time in Japan since the close of the World War, has made a deep study of the nation, its people, their psychology and their background. He has edited papers in this country and has been correspondent for some of the principal newspapers abroad, such as the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Washington Post* and the (London) *Times*.

He has presented in the ensuing pages his reactions to and his knowledge of the Japan that lies below the surface for most foreign residents. It is one of the first books of this type to appear in more than twenty years, and one can not but think of Lafcadio Hearn in the way in which Mr. Frank H. Hedges has written.

If one is interested in Japan, or in good literature, it is a book that can not afford to be missed.

Adventures in Far Eastern Journalism

by **H. G. W. Woodhead**, Shanghai

To be published in November

For over thirty years the author has studied Far Eastern affairs. This deeply interesting book should be read by all who wish for a real insight into the vast complexities of the Far East.

buying at the sacrifice of savings seem not only unsound, but futile. The problem of unemployment obviously centres in the capital-goods industries, which continue to languish. It is clear also that increased purchases of consumer goods cannot revive those industries. Increased purchases of capital goods are the essential factor, and a great pent-up demand for such goods is known to exist.

But common sense and every precedent show that, if that demand is to be released and financed, the investment of additional savings will be required. Hence it looks painfully clear that, in our present predicament, the investment of a dollar of savings can do more to relieve unemployment than can a dollar of additional consumer spending.

Thrift is still a virtue.

The Atlantic Monthly, New York, Sept.

編輯室から

ヨーロッパの外交關係は表裏常ないものの典型的なものとされて居るが、今度の伊エ問題及び聯盟對伊太利の問題も何うやら此の典型を表はし來つゝあるかに見える。地中海と紅海に英伊兩國の海軍が對峙し西に英國首相ホールドウィン氏東に伊太利首相ムツリニイ氏が各々強硬意見を吐いて相見えて居ると見えなが、腹は虚々實々、何うやら大山鳴動式に終りさうになつて來て居る。英伊兩國の地中海上に在る軍艦數を調べるよりもアフリカの分割史とエチオピアの各國利權史を調べる方が、先を見透す上乘の策と見えて來た。二面から三面にかけて「醜態しつつあつたエ國の危機」なる一文を撰んで入れた所以である。

剛腹其ものに見えて居たムツソリニイ首相、今度の事件で英國の軍艦が地中海に動くのを見ると、案外豫想外の國際的素直さを表して、對エ戦争は已めないが經濟制裁は甘受しよう、とおとなしく出たものである。紅毛タイムス紙のマツアムツク女史は論じて、ヒットラーは煽動者、最も成功せる煽動者、スターリンはデモクラシイに最も普通の獨裁者、親分ムツソリニイは煽動者、親分に於て且つ嘗ての日の闘士、然し乍ら彼は最も多く、筆を以て現在の政權に乍ら居つて來た「造語の名人」である、と云つて居るのは傾聴すべき何物かを持つてゐると思ふ。

空の勇者リンドバーク大佐が「人工心臓」を発明したと云ふ報道は大分前に聞いた所であるが、最近稍詳細な記事が到着したのでお目にかける事にした。若し此の発明が一般醫術に適用されるに至るならば或程度迄の人命延長が可能になりはしないだらうか。興味ある事である。空の勇者必らずしも空の貢獻のみで終始せずと云ふべきだ。

ドウグラス教授の「節約こそ繁榮を回復せん」の論文、並に「各國空軍擴張競争」の記事は何れも本月號で完結するが、一讀の價值のある文字である。

米國の不景氣は同國の休暇の過し方に著しい變化をもたらして居らしい、只だ單に節約と云ふのでなくて具體的形式の差異が表はれて居らしい。米國に於ける様に自動車はなくても、日本でも何うかな？などと思つて入れて見た。

嘗てのアドヴァタイザー編輯長、紐育ウォールド紙記者で在留外人中の最大の日本通の一人で日本の愛好者フランク・ヘツジス氏の「消えた恍惚の境」なる東京取材せる一文を入れて置いた。日本の風物な味得せる點に於てハーンの風貌があると思ふ。

義にロンドン・タイムズ紙とフィンランドの
スヴェンスカ・プレツセン紙がグレン・シ
ヨウ氏譯の山本有三氏「唐人お吉其他」に對
して長文の批評を掲載した、フィンランドの
は同國一流の女流作家 Hagar Olson 女史の
手になつたもので當賞は別としても西歐人

の現代日本文學に對するリアクションが如何なるものであるかを、見る上に於ても興味が極めて深い。只だフィンランド語からの翻譯者の英文が稍不充分であるのは遺憾である。

ヒリツピン大學教授ヒオ・デューラン氏の「比島獨立と極東問題」なる一書は比島問題を論ぜるものゝ中最も出色的なものとされて居た所、我出版部は先般來同書に對する代理取扱を開始して居るが、極めて卒直なる所論として各方面から需要されて居る、御存知向きてでない方もあらうかと思つて、此紙面を借りて申上げて置く。

◎ヘルン書誌の著者パーキンズ（三高教授）からの読者諸氏への御傳言——ヘルン書誌をいつも新しく完全なものとして置きたいとは私（パーキンズ氏）の念願であります、で、若し同書中に逸せるヘルン文獻又はヘルン

の手紙なり、原稿なりに就て御心附きの點あれば何とぞ御通知賜はつて、私の此仕事に陰に陽に御協力を賜へば幸甚に存する所でございます、謹んで御願いたします。

Pilot and Shogun

A Story of Old Japan

針安浦と三浦康家

by **J. A. B. Scherer**

With Illustrations. ¥ **2.50** = 10 sen

著者は日英國交最初の媒介者であつた William Adams (三浦安針) の小説よりも奇なる生涯に興味を持ち、安針に配するに彼と同郷であり又同年輩のシエクスピアや、安針を厚遇した徳川家康尊を取入れた興味律たる史實小説である

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THE LOG OF A JOURNEY

昨年の六月から本年一月にかけて日本から日本へ世界を一週した著者が其旅行記を語るに當つて地方的歴史と地理を盛り一方を教へ政治や風俗習慣を傳へ、以て世界の現勢と語學の習得を一舉にして得せしめやうといふ近來の快著である。行文平易にして流麗、興味盎然、が如し。教科書として一般讀者として敢て薦む。

英大衆文庫
文東京繁昌記

A Tokyo Calendar, with Sketches
十二月月に互り東京の行事と東京人の生活を輕妙
な英文で叙述したる世界的好評の良書。

話會
東京見物 *Talks in Tokyo*
by G. Gaiger ￥1.00

倫敦繁昌記 *A London Chronicle*
by F. H. Lee ￥1.50

英國十二月月 *The English Country*
Calendar by Lee ￥1.00

話會
英國物語 *Seven Talks on England*
by John W. Palmer ￥1.20

前米國加
州工大總長 シャーラー博士著 定價一七〇料

アメリカの歴史と偉人、風俗習慣、社會生活、學生々
活、祭日等を興味的に書いた吾人の知らんと欲する
米國の十二月月間に於ける年中行事の記述である。

America: Pageants and Personalities (各寫眞入)

アメリカの歴史と偉人、風俗習慣、社會生活、學生々
活、祭日等を興味的に書いた吾人の知らんと欲する
米國の十二月月間に於ける年中行事の記述である。

アメリカの歴史と偉人、風俗習慣、社會生活、學生々
活、祭日等を興味的に書いた吾人の知らんと欲する
米國の十二月月間に於ける年中行事の記述である。

東京市神田區 北 星 堂 振替東京一六〇二四
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From the Beginnings to the Present Day

著者 スミス ドオフト ラブ 師講 大 帝 東 京
料 錢 拾 五 圓 貳 價 定 買 本 余 百 美 四 判 上

廣漠なる英米文學研究の海に掉す者の爲に一目にして其行くべき道を示し作者を明にし作品の特徴、時代の特質及英米文學上の諸運動を解説し研究資料を挙げ有名なる詩の冒頭句までを與ふるが如き書物ありとせば其は研究者に取りつて天來の指針であり、研究寶典であらう。本書の企圖した所は此處にある。又作品を知つて著者を明にせず或は年代を知らず詩の冒頭句を知つて作者を知らざる者は一見直ちに其所要の知識を本書に發見し得るであらう。本書はアングロ・サクソン時代より今日に至る英米文學、文學者及其作品の總覽と解説であり、研究指針であり、座右必携の寶典である。

本書はヘルンが己が敬愛の念から筆を執つて譯したロチの名篇を収めたものである。

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ズラはヘルンが同情し尊敬したる作者の一人で自ら彼の傳記的紹介を行つた程である。本書は其傳記的紹介と有名ななるズラの作品「ラターク・ナムーラン」其他揃すべき名篇を含む。

北星堂は始めて公開されたるヘルン英譯佛蘭西文學上の珠玉篇二書!